632 security in this way than if they had taken the whole matter into their
361 own hands, for the natives naturally go to a great deal of trouble to justify the trust placed in them so as not to lose the privileges thus far granted, as a consequence of some abuse.

641 Like the other natives of Turkestan, the men of Tashkent are also not drafted into military service, in accordance with a special stipulation incidental to the surrender of the town. Besides, the Russians would probably not have required military service from them even in the absence of such a stipulation, for the sedentary population of Turkestan would in any case supply soldiers of only very doubtful worth, and as foot soldiers they would be completely useless.

6. Family Relations.

595 Family relations among the sedentary population of Turkestan, at least according to our concepts, are extremely wretched, and a family life in our sense is completely unthinkable. The Sarts, Tadjiks and sedentary Uzbeks, being Mohammedans, are polygamous, like the Mohammedan nomads. The luxury of several wives can be afforded only by the richer men however, for even among them a 'kalym' /bride-wealth/ must be paid to the parents of the bride, which is usually a specified sum of money. The poorer men are satisfied usually with one or, at the most, two wives. Many are unable to provide themselves with a wife at all because, due to the polygamy of the richer men, the number of single women /193/ in itself is already significantly smaller than that of the men. For this reason there are no old maids in Turkestan, but on the other hand there are that many more involuntary bachelors.

584 The girls are not allowed to marry according to their own judg-
ment, but are given away by their parents without regard to their per-
582 sonal inclinations. They marry very early, sometimes when they are ten, but as a result, when they are twenty they mostly belong among
593 the old women. The wife is completely the slave of her husband. He
562 clothes and feeds her well or badly, depending upon his whim, and without regard to his financial position or his civic rank; he lets some of his wives go about in rags and employs them for the lowest kind of labor, while he clothes others in gold and silks. If the situation for such a neglected wife is, in itself, not an enviable one, it is aggravated by the fact that she must look on while her children have to yield in everything to the children of the favorite wife, and she her-

593 self must put up with any treatment from them. Only wives born in
562 the better families can force better treatment from their husbands
[586] through their family ties, and in case of mistreatment by their husbands, such wives can by a legal action cause the husbands to separate from them. All other wives are exposed without protection to the arbitrary will of their husbands, who may at any time separate from them or take younger wives besides them if the older ones no longer please them, all this without giving reasons.

The most important circumstance which makes all public life unbearably monotonous and boring in Turkestan towns, and prevents the rise of a real social and family life, is the absolute seclusion, worse than in a cloister, of the women from the world of men. On the street the women must either not appear at all, or else they must be so heavily veiled that nothing at all can be seen of their figures. At home, however, they must live in a special section which can never be entered by any
[584] man other than their husbands and children. The groom is not allowed to see his bride even once before the wedding, and even during the marriage ceremony the bride and groom are in two different places. Thus the men must, unfortunately, depend on the judgments of their female relatives or on professional matchmakers for their choice of wives. Substitutions, such as those by which the patriarch Joseph was tricked by his father-in-law Laban are therefore easily made. At best the wives can live the rest of their lives communicating only with their brothers and parents in addition to their husbands, while all other men are for them as /194/ good as nonexistent. The women cannot take part in any public festivity, not even in family celbrations or receptions of guests in their own houses. A more joyless existence than that of the native wives in the towns of Central Asia can scarcely be imagined. (1)

[839] 1. I will note here that in Turkestan the institution of eunuchs is unknown. Even the harems of the khans there are no eunuchs.

On the whole, however, the life of the men too is in no way enviable as a result of the sharp separation of the sexes. A man without family never meets a female face to face at all, all his life, and is left exclusively to associate with men. The result of these unnatural conditions is an unbelievable moral depravity and a really horrifying increase of all possible unnatural vices.

The married men, too, have relatively little contact with their

593 wives and prefer to pass their time in association with men and to
562 idle about the whole day in the bazaar whenever their time is not taken up with work in the fields, commercial transactions or some kind of handicraft. This has its basis in the complete absence of schooling among all the women, even those of the best families. This is likewise a consequence of the seclusion of the female sex which makes it impossible for women to achieve a higher education in schools. The women are therefore unable to be companionable and good company to their husbands in the best sense.

000 A sense of how boring, even unbearable the whole life is in one of the towns inhabited by natives, as a result of the circumstances described, can only be felt by someone who has once been lost by some misfortune for a period of time in such a town. Such a life, as I can confirm from my own experience, is particularly depressing for Europeans accustomed to association with women and to the European forms of society. For Europeans a long stay in purely Mohammedan towns can be absolutely disastrous, and I have known of several cases, in which living for several years in an exclusively Mohammedan environment has led a man to suicide or madness.

402 There is one positive feature for the women in the towns and villages of Turkestan resulting from their strict separation and cloistered state: they are less drawn into heavy labor than is the case among the Kazakhs, and they are spared the work in the fields and gardens and the heavy work or the handicrafts. The chief task of the Sart and /195/ Tadjik women is the care and rearing of their children, the preparation of food, the making and washing of clothes, the spinning of yarn and the weaving of cloth for clothing for the household, and the like; above all the growing of silkworms is entirely in the hands of the women. All work which must be performed in the open and publicly, such as field and garden cultivation, handicrafts, commercial transactions, cattle raising, is done exclusively by men, which is quite different from the custom among the nomads. All the domestic labor, however, is done by the wives, even among the highest dignitaries and the khans, since there are no female domestic servants, but only male ones. It is not at all unusual for the wives of the highest officials, even of the khans, to send the products of their domestic industry, such as embroidered housecaps, belts, little pockets and the like, to the bazaar to be sold, in order to gain a little income.

346 garden of greater or smaller size with a pond in the middle at which Moslem visitors to the mosque make their prescribed ablutions before the prayers, if they have not already done so at home. These mosque courtyards form a favorite meeting place for all the residents whose only task in life consists in an unbroken delightful idleness, but who consider it beneath their dignity to loiter about with the younger men
793 at the bazaar and in the tea shops. At every mosque there is an 'imam' or permanent leader of prayers, with an assistant, who bears the title of 'sufi,' as well as a caller, endowed with a powerful voice, who must announce from the minaret of the mosque (Figure 74) the time of the morning and evening prayers and at the same time the curfew hour for the public houses. None of these ordinarily receives any regular salary. Instead, voluntary gifts are received, at the time of the high festivals from the vistors of the mosque in question, and at harvest time they are given a specified part of the fruit of the earth.

788 During the group prayers, inside the mosque as well as outside, the participants arrange themselves in rank and file like a detachment of soldiers, while the prayer leader (imam) is at the front in order to be visible to everyone. During the prayer people stand and kneel in rapid succession /205/ and touch the ground with the forehead from time to time; all these movements, to which are added various manipulations of the hands, are made first by the prayer leader and then imitated by the entire group, as though by command. This makes an extremely comical impression upon the non-participants, for the whole thing resembles an exercise in callisthenics more than a religious act, the more so since it all proceeds in deathly silence, for
[562] the prayers are not spoken aloud. Women may not participate in such common prayers nor visit the mosques. /Figure 74, p. 43a. Caption: The Minaret of Madamin Hodja in Khiva./

785 The Moslem fasts, which last all through the month of Ramadan, and are designated as 'urza', are completely different from the Christian fasts. They do not consist in abstinence from meat nor of moderation in eating, but instead in the prohibition of food or drink from sunrise to sundown, including even a drink of water. The Moslems are so strict in this connection that they do not even permit themselves to bathe fro some water could get into the body unintentionally through the nose or the ears. It can be easily seen that the observance of such strict fasts, especially during the burning heat of Turkestan, is no trivial thing. But scarcely has the sun set and the evening prayer is finished, before a solemn banquet begins with singing and dancing, a

872 Girls and boys are usually taught together; nevertheless there are also special girls' schools, but in these as well, the teaching is done by a mullah. Elementary education begins, as with us, at the age of from five to six years, as a rule, and for the boys usually lasts seven years. Many parents take their boys out of school before this, however, if they can use them in their business or for labor. The whole course is com-
● [562] pleted usually only by those who wish to enter a medrese later. For girls school attendance usually ends when they are eight or nine years old, for they are already of marriageable age when they are ten, and must receive instruction before that time in needlework, embroidery, weaving and other domestic tasks.

The instruction is strenuous for teachers and pupils alike, for it lasts nine hours a day, from six o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, with only a little free time for recreation and for eating the /220/ modest meals of bread and fruit, which the children have brought with them in their school bags. The pupils have only one day a week free, that is, Friday. Otherwise they have little vacation, only a week each at the time of the three high Moslem festivals.

872 876 The instruction in the elementary schools of Turkestan is limited primarily to the teaching of reading and writing. There are no courses, as we know them. The pupils are first taught the alphabet, and then they begin to read and copy from selected parts of the Koran, from which they proceed to the reading of various other books. The study of one book is held to be finished when the pupil is able to read it and copy from it without difficulty. Whoever has completed a half dozen books in this manner has finished the course and can proceed to study in a high school if he feels in himself the desire and capacity to do so. In addition to reading and writing the children in the elementary schools also learn the most important prayers and precepts of the Koran and the complicated ceremonies which must be observed during the prayers and the ablutions prescribed by the Koran. The methods of instruction used by the teachers in the elementary schools in Turkestan are characteristic and completely different from our customs and they explain why in these schools the time and work expended by the teacher and pupils corresponds so little to the results obtained. The instruction is already made very difficult by the fact that pupils at all levels must be taught at the same time by one and the same teacher; it is further encroached upon, quite needlessly, in that the various pupils at a given time are not occupied with one subject, such as reading or writing, but each is

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1

honest labor. Just between the three of us, though, the poor peasants of the village get together in a meeting and decide: "So-and-so has six horses; we couldn't very well get along without those in the collective farm; besides he hired a man last year to help on the harvest." They notify the GPU and there you are. So-and-so gets five years. They confiscate his property and give it to the new collective farm. Sometimes they ship the whole family out. When they came to ship us out, my brother got a rifle and fired several shots at the GPU officers. They fired back. My brother was killed. All of which, naturally, didn't make it any better for us. We all got five years, and in different places. I heard my father died in December, but I'm not sure.'

All this happened more than twenty years ago. Since then Communist ranks have swollen and absorbed hundreds of the people of the soil, official statistics show the usual propaganda figure of 98 or 99 per cent of the peasants in the *Kolkhoz*, and the Kazaks and Uzbeks have begun to qualify as mechanics. The new economy is settling down and the Soviets would have the world believe that, in spite of backslidings, the peasants are docile and apt to the mechanical age which has overtaken them. The cotton expansion policy has ridden on shortage and misery to triumph; industry and mineral wealth have been developed (the former largely by the establishment of textile mills for cotton and silk in Turkistan itself) and the connection with Siberia by the Turk-Sib Railway, opened in 1930, is a permanent symbol of a new economic era. Perhaps most significant of all, the Soviets have insisted on the emancipation of women, making the discarding of the veil the touchstone of loyalty to the new idea. In this, let it be remarked, they run counter only to the orthodox tradition of Bukhara and the south, and not to that of the nomad, whose women, riding freely on the steppe, were never veiled. On a short or a long view the removal of the *paranja* must be regarded as a beneficent reform, against which no Central Asian nationalist would find it easy to exclaim. Lastly, in the oases at least, there are signs of plenty, and even of the emergence of a new Party aristocracy. The fatted calf can still be killed, and favoured visitors lick their lips as they

[collectivization; see cat. 116, pp. 175-179 -- Analyst]

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL 1

munist Party, Shayakhmetov,[1] went on the air just before Christmas 1951, with a direction to the Comsomols in Kazakistan to take an active part in the struggle against religious behaviour or feudal survivals, and to unmask the *advances* made by people of that way of thought. Whenever work on these lines slackened, he said, there emerged insubordination among individual Comsomols, bourgeois-nationalistic tendencies, and, worst of all, religion among the youth. Not for the first time those who worship Divus Augustus have found that there is no challenge to a living faith which goes without its response. Deviationism will remain for the Soviets an ever-present problem.

For the spiritual inheritance of a people, or group of peoples, is not identifiable only with the direct inspirations of a revealed religion. There is a certain afflatus of the Turkish spirit which seems to make the Turk, Western or Eastern, conscious of impulses which in his own estimation move him apart from other men. These have enabled him in the course of time to impress his personality, and even his language, on many who were not Turks, while he preserved his identity proudly for himself. That pride has lasted to this day, and the Turk, whose spirit has breathed over Persian and Mongol, Anatolian and Byzantine, Bashkurd and Kirghiz, remains simply and invincibly himself, curiously unsullied by the more complex influences around him. Many have been turcized; the Turk remains — a prince of deviationists.

It is even a question how far the much-lauded emancipation of women has really weakened the more vital of the Turkish traditions, though it may have transformed them. On the steppe women were never secluded. A vivid nationalism is not seldom nurtured by women, both within and without the home, more feelingly than by fathers or by schoolmen. A greater permeation of society by women may produce a higher feminine velocity, as it were, and in the end recoil on the

[1] It is not easy to recognise in Russian garb the Muslim name Shah Ahmed. Moreover, the habit of using the patronymic results in the world never knowing a man's own name. Although this is in tune with the use of the Turkish termination -oglu, it is a break away from Muslim custom.

531 [353] the remote mountain districts of Central Asia the forms have been handed down so carefully that the figure of the bird has retained traces of medieval stylization.

Embroideries discovered by Le Coq in sparsely populated districts of Eastern Turkestan are in technique and design frequently almost identical with the susanis of Bokhara. They show the same stylized flower-patterns in the same combination of colours, usually as decorations of women's trousers (tambal). It may, therefore, be assumed that the style of the susanis is characteristic of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia.

More than twenty years ago Le Coq reported that such embroidery was no longer being made in Eastern Turkestan. The examples that he saw had been made by the mothers of the generation then living. In Western Turkestan the tradition not only exists to this day, but the government has set up special workshops where the women embroider susanis. This is part of the policy by means of which the state seeks to draw women out of the secluded life of the harem.

656 562

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1

the Russian; but instead of constituting the substance of ethnic identification, as it did before the Revolution, today it forms merely one of its many attributes.

CUSTOMS

Although most national customs of the Central Asian Turks are in one way or another connected with Islam, they are by origin and function sufficiently distinct from it to be treated independently, the more so that they are affected differently by Soviet policies: whereas Communism is openly hostile to religion, it either tolerates customs or attempts to take them over for its own purposes.

National customs have fared much better under Soviet rule than religious practices, in part as a result of this tolerant attitude of the regime and in part because they can be better reconciled with the spirit of Westernization. While Islam has suffered a serious decline, national customs have either remained intact or undergone a transformation which has modified somewhat their outward manifestations without diminishing their hold on the population. In regard to customs, the following seems to be the general rule: the natives abandon or modify those customs which are utterly incompatible with the improvement of living standards, but they cling tenaciously to the traditions which either do not interfere with material progress or can be modified to serve it. Where abandonment or adjustment is necessary, the natives often prefer to adopt the customs of their more advanced Muslim neighbors than those of the Russians or other Europeans.

This pattern emerges clearly in the institution of marriage, which can be analyzed in its three main aspects: the method whereby the marriage is arranged; the formalities connected with the engagement; and the wedding ceremony.

Traditionally, in Muslim communities of Central Asia marriages were arranged not by the couples concerned, but by their parents. Engagements were frequently made when the prospective bride and bridegroom were still in their childhood, and occasionally even before they were born. This custom was in keeping with the elevated position of the father in the Muslim family, and with the seclusion of women in the urban and rural communities of Turkestan; among the nomadic Turks, the high bride price (*kalym*) was a further factor inhibiting marriage outside parental authority.

Inasmuch as this practice runs contrary to the breaking up of family control and the emancipation of women implicit in Westernization, it is being abandoned. Everywhere, and particularly in the urban centers, the youth is becoming less and less dependent on the family, and, with the active encouragement of the regime, frees itself from its control. Coeducational schools, participation in sports, the growing practice of social

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl

177 dating, employment of men and women in offices and stores — all these
562 factors tend to break down the wall between the sexes. The Muslim youth today is not only increasingly able to plan its future without regard to the wishes of parents, but also has many opportunities to mingle freely with members of the opposite sex. All this helps undermine the traditional-habits
517 in marriage selection. Among the urban Muslim intelligentsia it appears
583 now to be the rule for the young couples to decide upon marriage first and to ask parents for permission afterwards, as is done in Western societies. In the villages, where the hold of tradition is stronger and the family more closely knit, the parents still do play an important, and perhaps even decisive, role in the arrangement of marriages; but here, too, the tendency seems to run against tradition.

583 An influential factor in the marriage arrangement among Central Asian
177 Muslims was the *kalym*, or bride price. The *kalym* was paid to the parents of the bride by the parents of the bridegroom prior to the wedding. In the steppe regions, it consisted usually of livestock, averaging in pre-Revolutionary days from 50 to 100 horses and an equal or larger number of sheep — a sizeable fortune by local standards. In Turkestan, the *kalym* consisted of gifts of money, jewels, or other valuables. The payment of the *kalym* is one of the few traditions of a nonreligious nature outlawed by the Soviet regime, ostensibly as "degrading" to women, but its illegality explains only in part its actual decline, which is probably due more to the impoverishment of the native population over the past 25 years. What Kazakh disposes of 50 horses or sheep? Poverty seems to have reduced the tradition of the *kalym* to a purely symbolic significance. It apparently continues to survive in one form or another throughout Central Asia, but it no longer performs any important economic function.

836 One of the more startling results of information gathered from refugees
177 is the impression of strict sexual morality prevailing among Soviet Muslims. Despite the freer mingling of sexes, there is little opportunity for sexual promiscuity because of the close watch exercised over the girls by their families and the great value attached by the natives to virginity. Most of the refugees agreed that an unmarried Muslim girl who has lost her virginity — no matter under what circumstances — is considered to be on the same level as a common prostitute. Her chances of marriage are almost nonexistent, because it is generally accepted that a marriage contract is void if the bride is found on the wedding night not to be a virgin. On the whole, sexual licentiousness seems rare: it is prevented by tradition and by the control exercised by the family, to whom a deflowered daughter not only brings public disgrace but also represents a lasting financial liability.[4]

[4] Newspapers and periodicals from Central Asia indicate that, despite Soviet efforts aimed at changing native attitudes toward women, tradition persists. It seems apparently to be quite common practice for natives to withdraw daughters from school when the girls attain the

000 preponderance of males over females.

161 In order to judge the growth of popula-
163 tion we have data from three uyezds of the
165 Semirechie oblast which show

1 birth for every 20 persons
1 death for every 21 persons
Natural increase: 0.3%

It is clear from this that the birth rate among the natives is very high, which is in agreement with the general rule: the more civilized a people is, the lower is its birth rate. On the other hand the death rate of the native population also is considerably higher than the death rate of other peoples. Thus the percent of natural increase is two-thirds below that of the population of European Russia, where the annual increase is up to 1%.

The birth rate and mortality and the natural increase of the Russian population living in the Turkestan region corresponds to the data for European Russia.

165 /335/ Among the Kazakhs and Sarts one ob-
serves a high female mortality, which results in a preponderance of males, as mentioned above. This predominance is reported to be as much
562 as 10%. The high female mortality among the Kazakhs and Sarts (and in general among our Moslem subjects in the Turkestan region) is due, apparently, to the more terrible and oppressed position which the woman occupies in the Mosler world here. Doomed to heavy labor, knowing no rest and peace, suffering various hardships, the Moslem woman ages early and dies before her time.